

Puritanism a tonic which braced its energies and fortified its already vigorous temper. At first sight, no contrast could be more violent than that between the iron collectivism, the almost military discipline, the remorseless and violent rigours practised in Calvin's Geneva, and preached elsewhere, if in a milder form, by his disciples, and the impatient rejection of all traditional restrictions on economic enterprise which was the temper of the English business world after the Civil War. In reality, the same ingredients were present throughout, but they were mixed in changing proportions, and exposed to different temperatures at different times. Like traits of individual character which are suppressed till the approach of maturity releases them, the tendencies in Puritanism, which were to make it later a potent ally of the movement against the control of economic relations in the name either of social morality or of the public interest, did not reveal themselves till political and economic changes had prepared a congenial environment for their growth. Nor, once those conditions were created, was it only England which witnessed the transformation. In all countries alike, in Holland, in America, in Scotland, in Geneva itself, the social theory of Calvinism went through the same process of development. It had begun by being the very soul of authoritarian regimentation. It

ended by  
being the vehicle of an almost Utilitarian  
individualism.  
While social reformers in the sixteenth  
century could  
praise Calvin for his economic rigour, their  
successors  
in Restoration England, if of one persuasion,  
denounced  
him as the parent of economic license, if of  
another,  
applauded Calvinist communities for their  
commercial  
enterprise and for their freedom from  
antiquated  
prejudices on the subject of economic  
morality. So  
little do those who shoot the arrows of the  
spirit know  
where they will light.